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R5R24UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
Bureau of Agricultural Economics
Washington, D. C.RECONNAISSANCE REPORT, FREDERICK COUNTY, MARYLAND*

To one interested in such subjects it would be easy to become lost in the many historical aspects to be found in Frederick County. Lying at the head of the famous Shenandoah Valley, 45 miles equidistant from Washington and Baltimore, it has been a traffic artery between Washington and Pennsylvania for much economic and military travel. Birthplace and residence of Governor Thomas Johnson, Chief Justice Roger Taney, Rear Admiral Schley, Francis Scott Key and Barbara Fritchie, and the meeting place for Benjamin Franklin, George Washington, General Braddock and other notables. It carries scars and mementoes of the Revolutionary and Civil Wars and nearly every community is related to some historical personage or event. Settled for 200 years, its economic and social organization is well stabilized and its agricultural economy established in a definite pattern.

I. Cultural OriginsA. The Cultural Heritage

The settlement of the area now included in Frederick County actually began at the tidewater regions of the Potomac River in 1680. Settlers gradually pushed their way up the Potomac Valley and by 1732 had branched off from the Potomac into the valley of the Monocacy River, which traverses the county. Most of these settlers were of English or Irish descent and were stimulated by Lord Baltimore's offer of fertile land at 4 shillings per acre. The first settlement of these immigrants covered the southern half of the county stopping approximately 15 miles above the present site of Frederick, the county seat.

At the same time German and Dutch immigrants from Pennsylvania were speedily settling in what is now the northern half of the county, and in 1738 had already established a Lutheran church, the second German church to be organized in the United States. Between 1732 and 1776 many more Germans and Dutch migrated directly from Baltimore and the East into the county without passing through the intermediate stop in Pennsylvania.

The English system of large estates was followed in the southern portion of the area; Lord Carroll owning one of 8,000 and Patrick Dulaney another of 5,000 acres, including the site of the present county seat. It was, therefore, normal that when the county seat was selected and laid out in 1745, it should be named Frederick, for the son of Lord Baltimore,

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the only tobacco produced in the county is along the southern border and this area contains also the only industrial, highly urbanized community in the county outside the county seat itself. It is in the southern part that the newer emotional religious denominations have taken root. In the northern area the German influence, although weakened through many generations, is still predominant in many respects. Houses and barns are built with an eye toward durability, the latter being of the "bank-barn" or "over-jet" pattern. All of them follow the accepted German pattern of having blank windows with half moon shaped tops painted along the sides and ends. Outbuildings and fences are kept in good repair, sheds for machinery are the universal rule, yards and farmsteads are fenced and kept clean, and the entire farm shows evidence of hard work, thrift and orderliness. German customs in cooking, special foods at Easter, the making of apple butter, and greater reliance on the almanac for seeding and harvesting operations, are some of the more visible signs of the cultural heritage.

B. Physical Environment

The topography of the county may be characterized as rolling to rough. Toward the western side a range of low hills traverses the county from southwest to northeast and approximately six to seven miles further west a similar but higher mountain known as South Mountain of the Alleghenies extends parallel to this and forms the western boundary of the county. The extreme western and northwestern parts of the county are mountainous and timbered, and the best agricultural regions are chiefly in the central and eastern portions, except for one exceptionally fertile valley in the southwestern part.

Annual rainfall is approximately 41 inches and seldom deviates greatly from this, so that crop failures are practically unknown, although in the past 5 years two rather unusual droughts have occurred, in one of which the annual rainfall dropped to around 28 inches. The frost free season covers 121 days and the elevation ranges from 300 to 600 feet in the areas utilized in agriculture.

Soil fertility is above the average since it is composed of the top soil carried down to the valleys from the eroded mountain ranges. Four principal types of soil are found, the best of which occurs in the central and northeastern parts of the county and is known as "the limestone;" further south are areas of soil types locally designated as "chestnut," "blue," and "flinty," all of which are productive but of slightly less fertility.

After nearly 200 years of cultivation most of the soils are showing a tendency to decrease in fertility and increasingly large amounts of fertilizer are needed to maintain the same productivity. Coupled with this is the problem of erosion, although splendid farming practices even before the days of soil conservation programs have done much to mitigate this evil.

Residents are unanimous in their enthusiasm for all phases of the climate, topography and soil, emphasize that for many years the county was listed as one of the 10 leading agricultural counties of the Nation, and are reluctant to admit the existence of the two unprecedented droughts which occurred in recent years.

C. Post-settlement Adaptations and Adjustments

Throughout the history of the county the major changes which have occurred have been governed chiefly by economic reasons. The first period extends roughly from the early settlement up to the Civil War, by which time all the agricultural land had been fairly well settled. In 1790 the county contained 30,000 people and was the largest wheat producing county in America. In Fredericktown, which had a population of 2,000 in 1775, were numerous mills, and furnaces, forges, ironworks, tanneries and stills were scattered over the county, all of which gave considerable employment to those not engaged solely in agriculture. By 1820 there were 6,685 slaves in the county, many of whom were employed in the growing of tobacco, particularly in the southern part of the county. Other than wheat, the chief crops were corn, oats, rye and clover, with some beginnings of apples and peaches in commercial orchards. The operation of land by slaves became less and less desirable as the time of the Civil War approached. Bounded on the north by the state of Pennsylvania, which did not adhere to the fugitive slave law and was sympathetic to their concealment and escape, slave owning became a hazardous investment as more and more of the human chattels disappeared over the line. By 1860 the number of slaves had dropped to 3,200, and in addition the county contained nearly 5,000 free Negroes.

With the freeing of the slaves a new era in agriculture began, which extended roughly to about the turn of the century. With slave labor no longer available the cultivation of tobacco subsided and the emphasis was put upon small grain. Labor saving devices had already gained a strong foothold, the proper use of fertilizer had become well established, and the establishment of several railroad lines offered means of transportation for the shipment of products. In the decade prior to the Civil War, there were 405,000 acres listed as being in farms in the county, with a property valuation of over \$19,000,000. The small industrial enterprises scattered about the county had gradually succumbed to the competition of enterprises located closer to better raw materials and transportation and those remaining were now largely concentrated in Fredericktown itself.

With decreasing fertility, increasing erosion problems, and increase of population in the nearby urban centers of Washington and Baltimore, the attention between 1900 and 1910 began to be turned toward dairying as a major enterprise, and expansion in that field has been rapid. Crops have been more and more turned to feed and forage products for the feeding of dairy cattle. This has been accompanied by rapid increase

in all phases of mechanization and of enterprises related to the dairy industry, among which are the establishment of pure-bred and registered herds of dairy cattle and Percheron horses.

D. Contacts and Relationships with Other Areas

The residents of Frederick County have never been isolated or semi-isolated from the outside world and even in the earliest days of its history enjoyed wider contacts than are common to most areas. Main turnpikes connected them with metropolitan centers, and the bordering Potomac River and C. and O. Canal offered easy facilities for marketing of products. The first railroad, and extension of the Baltimore and Ohio, traversed the county in 1831 and now several additional lines operate throughout the county. A small interurban system connects Frederick town with several of the more important communities. A highway system of approximately 1,300 miles of roads of which nearly two-thirds are hard surfaced, all-weather roads, connects every part of the county and access from one community to another is easy.

Because of its productivity, fertility and closely knit agricultural economy, Frederick has been the proving-ground for much scientific work in agriculture, sponsored by the University of Maryland working through the county agricultural personnel. National, State and local milk producers associations have brought into use numerous scientific technologies in the production of milk, and kept pace in the allied fields of feed and forage production. The early dissemination of farm practices within the county is evidenced by the manner in which the residents of the southern part of the county, originally with a quite different agricultural background, have accepted and used many of the agricultural practices introduced by the German settlers.

II. Techniques and Patterns of Making a Living

A. Agricultural Products Produced

In the past 30 years dairy farming has outstripped all other types of agricultural enterprise. Even the farms which do not carry dairy herds have adapted their production patterns to meet the needs of this specialized agricultural economy. Early in the history of the county the corn was made into whiskey, for easier transportation, and in 1790 more than 400 stills were in operation. Wheat, the dominant crop, was processed into flour at the 80 mills operating at the time of the Revolutionary War.

The three principal crops now grown in the county are hay, corn, and wheat. In 1940 acreages in these three crops were almost identical at around 55,000 acres each and the bulk of production was utilized as

dairy feed. Acreage in barley, also used as dairy feed, has increased enormously. A profitable supplementary crop is sweet corn grown for the local canneries and acreage in 1944 was between 6000 and 8000. A minor activity, pursued chiefly in the southern part of the county, is the growing of worrased which is pressed into oil.

While there is considerable self satisfaction in producing high acreage yields of hybrid corn and winter wheat, the chief basis for pride is that of high milk production, either per animal or per herd. Exact records are maintained on daily, monthly and yearly production per animal and success as a dairy farmer is gauged largely by these production figures.

There is every indication that even without the spur of subsidies for milk production dairying will continue its ascendancy as the chief agricultural occupation of the county. Production in 1934 was approximately 14 and a half million gallons as against 21 million gallons in 1942 with further increases since that date. Practically all is shipped as fluid milk, either to Baltimore, Washington, or Philadelphia.

B. The Machines and Tools of Production

Despite the fact that the early settlers in the northern part of the county tended to settle on relatively small farms of approximately 100 acres which could be operated by a family unit without hired labor, they were quick to adopt every type of labor saving machinery. As early as 1827 a threshing machine, operated by hand and with a capacity of 5 bushels an hour was used and advertised. Fifteen years before that date a crude appliance for threshing clover seed had been put into use. In 1849 an improved wheat drill was in general use, the spring tooth horse-rake appeared in 1855, and by 1859 combine reapers and mowing machines were in general use. With the advent of dairy farming milking machines became practically universal and the majority of farms carrying more than 15 dairy animals have such equipment. On the farms with larger herds refrigerating equipment is common. Similar acceptance has been given all types of machinery for seeding and harvesting the various grain crops and practically the only hand labor now in use is that on the small tobacco acreages in the southern part of the county.

Following the early German pattern farm buildings are more elaborate, expensive and well maintained than the houses. Almost without exception the barns are large enough to house from 20 to 40 animals along with the hay. The common type is that built with an overhang for protection of cattle and the majority are the "bank barns," with the earth banked up to permit easy entrance into the wide doors.

Adjoining them are corn cribs, silos and machinery sheds, all of which are kept well painted and in excellent repair. Practically all of the older barns have stone foundations, and as mentioned earlier have the blank windows painted on the sides and ends. Barns built during the past 20 years do not have painted windows but instead have open louvers for the ventilation of the interior and are equipped with elaborate sanitary devices.

Great pride is exhibited in the care of yards, buildings, machinery, animals, fences, and the orderliness of the entire farm. The farmer who neglects to properly house his machinery and stock is looked upon with contempt and occupies the lowest status among his associates.

C. The Nonmaterial Techniques of Production

Farm practices throughout the entire county are fairly uniform, frequently the only difference being in the degree of mechanization. Practices relating to the maintenance, feeding and improvement of dairy herds follow generally accepted patterns and scientific technologies are accepted and put into use by tenants as well as owners.

As might be expected in an economy which specializes in practically only one product the marketing arrangements are well organized and rigidly controlled. Practically every producer is a member of one or more of the local, State, or national dairy associations, the acceptability of his product is controlled by the bacteria count and the price by the percentage of butterfat content.

The chief cooperative association is a large cooperative purchasing and selling organization which specializes in the manufacture of mixed feed. This association has recently taken over the production and distribution of limestone as sponsored by the AAA, and as a result has almost doubled its membership within the past two years. Present membership is approximately 2,000, products are distributed in two or three adjoining counties and total sales exceed \$1,000,000 yearly. The management is highly efficient and the association is universally well regarded.

Exchange of labor has of course been stimulated greatly during the current labor shortage, although it has always existed to a considerable extent for many years. Filling of silos is generally accomplished by groups of neighboring farmers and butchering almost universally so. Because of the relatively small acreage in wheat on individual farms, custom threshing is the rule and frequently the threshing crew comprises a group of neighboring farmers with only one or two hired employees. Operators, however, are generally agreed that with the end of the farm labor shortage the currently greater exchange of work will decrease and the prewar patterns will be reestablished.

All the eight communities in the county are fairly homogeneous in character as respects social, ethnic and religious groupings and look to Frederick as their natural center, with the possible exception of the town of Brunswick (population 3,856). Here the larger part of the residents are engaged in activities related to the B. and O. Railroad which has shops, roundhouses, etc., with a large number of employees. Much of the surrounding area is occupied by part-time farmers or those with full-time employment in the railroad yards and the whole pattern of life is urban rather than rural. Since the town is large enough to supply all but the most specialized services, there is little contact with Frederick except for necessary governmental or political necessities and the Brunswick community ties are largely toward Harpers Ferry and the Virginia side.

Monetary values appear to have relatively little importance in the thinking of the majority of Frederick County farmers. Stemming, as the majority do, from a hard headed, hard working, thrifty, practical, and utilitarian minded ancestry, the chief motivation lies in getting ahead and achieving economic security and success. Appreciation of the cultural arts, while existing to some extent, is at a minimum in the rural areas and music, art, literature, and other esthetics tend to be regarded somewhat with apathy, if not with a certain degree of contempt.

Folk knowledge and traditional methods in agriculture have been almost wholly superseded by the use of scientific methods and machinery. This has, however, been a development of the last few decades and some fathers of present operators still continue to have some faith in planting and harvesting governed by the different phases of the moon. The following of such practices is frequently alluded to facetiously or derisively but an undercurrent of credence is not uncommon. One of the widely owned and read publications is an annual yearbook, published by the leading newspaper, which includes an almanac with full information covering the moon's phases and weather predictions.

D. Man-land Relationships

The settlement pattern has remained practically unchanged for the past hundred years and, although data are lacking on the size of farms prior to 1860, apparently there has never been much change. In 1880 the mean size of farm was 105 acres and in 1940 was 100 acres. The total number of farms in the county has likewise changed less than 10 percent during the same period and farmers report that the comparatively few cases of consolidation of units which would tend to increase the average size has been offset by the division of land through inheritance.

The following table indicates the spread of farm size in 1940.

Number farms by size groups, Frederick, Maryland 1940

Size Group	Number	Percent Distribution
All Farms	3466	100.0
Under 10 Acres	429	12.4
10 - 29 "	481	13.9
30 - 49 "	330	9.5
50 - 69 "	275	7.9
70 - 99 "	331	9.5
100 - 139 "	598	17.3
140 - 179 "	478	13.8
180 - 219 "	268	7.7
220 - 259 "	142	4.1
260 - 379 "	104	3.0
380 - 499 "	17	.5
500 - 699 "	9	.3
700 - 999 "	3	.1
1,000 acres and over	1	-

The modal farm of a hundred acres generally contains not less than 70 to 80 acres of cultivatable land, only a small proportion being in woodland. Such a farm will have from 18 to 24 dairy cows, a sizable pasture, and the balance devoted to wheat, corn, barley, and hay, depending upon the feeding requirements for the herd. The farm will be operated as a family farm, with the use of one hired hand employed by the month and small amounts of seasonal labor at harvest-time.

It will have an average value of \$6,254 for land and buildings, plus \$671 worth of implements and machinery. It will have a total value of products sold, traded and used of \$2,973 in 1939, (which is much higher in 1945) of which nearly 64 percent is derived from livestock and dairy products.

Of the 3,466 farm operators in the county, three-fourths are owners and one-fourth tenants with fewer than one-eighth of the tenants operating as croppers. Since dairying universally necessitates hired labor, in 1939 there were 3,080 hired laborers reported on the 3,466 farms, of which nearly one-half were hired by the month and the remainder by the day or week.

One of the major changes in the tenure system which has been developing in recent years has been the change from share tenant to cash tenant. During the war this trend has been accentuated and the general opinion in the county is that it is highly desirable. Retired or absentee owners lease out the average sized 100-acre dairy farm for a price ranging from \$150 to \$225 per month depending on its desirability and productivity. With proper management tenants can succeed admirably even at this high rental and many report that such an arrangement is fully as desirable as complete ownership.

As is usual, mobility of the owner group is considerably less than that of tenants, although even the latter group are more stable than in many areas. Although most farm leases are still on a year to year basis, there are numerous instances of tenants operating the same unit for from 5 to 10 years and it is only the shiftless and undesirable tenant who changes (generally at the request of the landlord) every year or two.

Coming down as one of their most important cultural heritages is pride in the ownership of land. Many farms have been in possession of the same family for several generations. When sons leave the homestead it is frequently as purchasers of other land or after a period as tenants, during which every effort is made to earn and save for the purchase of a farm unit. While successful operators denied that any class lines existed and emphasized that tenants were accepted equally into Farm Bureau, Grange and other organizations, they uniformly admitted that a definitely higher social status was given to ownership.

E. Nonfarm Activities

The Census of 1940 reports 838 or approximately one-fourth of the operators as doing off-farm work, of which two-thirds report more than 100 days. Although the Census reports 3,466 farms, the county agricultural personnel report that there are fewer than 2,700 actual farms according to AAA records. The difference of nearly 800 farms represents small acreages adjacent to the villages, which are farms only by census definition, and which are occupied chiefly by the farm operators who are reported as doing off-farm work. Dairying is an occupation which demands the regular services of the operator and does not permit absence in other employment for even limited periods and it is apparent that off-farm work is not a characteristic of the legitimate farm operator.

One of the enterprises which is not wholly agricultural but is carried on on farms is the raising of goldfish. Approximately 600 acres of ponds devoted to goldfish are scattered throughout the county and it is reported that it is the largest distribution point in the United States for this product. Some owners have rented their farms, retaining only the ponds, and have converted goldfish raising into a full time job.

In the past 3 years there has been a large amount of war industry employment in the neighboring cities of Hagerstown and Baltimore, and a large number of the residents, estimated at around 4,000, commute back and forth daily to these points. These persons chiefly have been residents of Frederick and other towns, casual laborers and sons and daughters of non-farm residents, and little migration has occurred to these industries from the farms proper, so that this employment cannot properly be labelled either off-farm work or migration.

F. Cycles of Activity

The rhythm of life of the dairy farmer is probably more routinized and uniform than in any other type of agriculture in which productivity is at a similarly high level. Animals must be milked twice daily and, aside from the limitations imposed by this necessity, the culling of herds, breeding practices, maintenance of the balance between feed production and feeding practices, watchfulness against disease, and the rigid sanitary controls on the product comprise a full time regular job that permits of little deviation. All social and recreational activities are geared to these time limitations. On the few farms where dairy herds are not maintained there is the usual lull in activity when the crops are well along toward maturity but not yet ready for harvesting and it is during this period, when vacation trips, and hunting and fishing activities, are enjoyed. For the most part, however, changes in seasons do not present a respite from work as found in the South, and there is little in the way of rest periods occasioned by "laying-by" time or for winter weather.

Levels and Standards of living

Frederick County, as one of the leading producing counties of the United States, has long enjoyed a high level of living. According to the Hagood index, the rural farm level is 114, or eighth from the top in Maryland's 23 counties. Both farm and urban incomes are high and the average per capita sales in 1939 in the town of Frederick were \$704.00 as against an average of \$320 for the United States as a whole and \$340 for the State of Maryland. The following table shows the distribution of farm income.

Distribution of farms by total value of products sold,
traded or used by farm households, 1939,
Frederick, Maryland

Value Group	Number of farms	Percentage of classified farms
All farms	3,466	—
Classified farms	3,441	100.0
Under \$250	677	19.7
\$250 - \$399	332	9.7
\$400 - \$599	268	7.8
\$600 - \$999	330	9.6
\$1,000 - \$1,499	331	9.6
\$1,500 - \$2,499	565	16.4
\$2,500 - \$3,999	508	14.8
\$4,000 - \$5,999	266	7.7
\$6,000 - \$9,999	135	3.9
\$10,000 and over	29	.8

It seems apparent that a large proportion of rural expenditures are for items going into farm operation. The homes of farm operators are frequently of brick, many of them dating back to the period before the Civil War. While impressive looking, the interiors seldom bear out the impression of prosperity given by the size and architecture of the dwelling and rest of the farm. Utilitarianism is the rule and while adequately furnished, the usual appearance is that of being meagerly furnished, there seldom being rugs on the floor or any luxury items in the way of furniture which do not have a directly practical use. Following the German cultural patterns, food is bountiful, well cooked and diverse in character, but served without ceremony or esthetic considerations. The women apparently are interested in and quick to accept efficient ways of preparing foods, practicing economies and other types of practical suggestions but tend to be more apathetic toward subjects relating to home beautification, cultural arts and recreational practices which lack utilitarian value.

The attitude toward clothing follows the same pattern, in that durability and utility are valued more than beauty or style. Education at the college level is highly regarded and is a mark of status. A comparatively recently high school was considered to lie in the realm of "higher education" and parents frequently asserted they should pay for it rather than have it form a part of the home educational program. Attitudes toward higher education have been governed by the desire and necessity of sending boys on the farm and college attendance is reported to be high for agricultural families in the state. A new State Board of Education effecting changes the educational system to a six-year program has increased the length of the school program and is being met with opposition, and violently, in some quarters.

Since the accent is always on the useful and practical, labor saving implements and machinery both for the home and farm are widely used. Automobiles, trucks, and tractors are generally of the latest and best working types.

III. Social Organization

A. Class and Status Groups

A listing of the status groups in the county community includes those in the city or town and rural areas. The two groups of highest status within the city are the graduates of Good College and the wealthy business and professional persons who enjoy the upper crust of the industrial life. Together they compose the "intelligentsia" who tend to dominate the social and economic life of the community. However, their influence extends greatly into rural areas. Next lower in the scale is the "small business" group which forms the backbone of the city's economic life. Further down are the laboring and service groups, and at the bottom the Negroes, casual laborers, tavern hangers-on, and general riffraff. The Negroes, however, occupy a special status and, subordinate though it is, cannot be classed merely with the lowest group. The pattern, in fact, is comparable to that of any typical American city of 20 or 25 thousand inhabitants.

Status groups among the rural residents are less clearly marked and passage from one group to another is easier. At the top of the heap are the well-to-do, successful farm owner-operators, some of whom rise to the dignity of holding a prominent office, cooperative or otherwise, in the community. Next are the laboring and service groups, and at the bottom the Negroes, casual laborers, tavern hangers-on, and general riffraff. The Negroes, however, occupy a special status and, subordinate though it is, cannot be classed merely with the lowest group. The pattern, in fact, is comparable to that of any typical American city of 20 or 25 thousand inhabitants.

tenants, some of whom eventually graduate into the top layer. Following are the small tenants, mostly on a share basis but well regarded if honest and industrious, and at the bottom are the monthly and weekly wage hands.

Industry and tenacity are the chief determinants in social status, although lineage is not entirely overlooked. Not infrequently in mentioning the name of one farmer to another the expression was heard, "That's a good name in this county." This meant that the related members of this family, which might include as many as 20 to 30, were all well regarded because of industry and thrift, and the possession of such a name automatically carried with it a good reputation throughout the county.

The only status group with definite limitations imposed by society are the Negroes. Only slightly more than 2 percent of them are listed as farm operators, either owners or tenants, and the balance are engaged in domestic service and as laborers, chiefly in Frederick and the southern part of the county. With its northern boundary forming part of the Mason-Dixon line and Frederick County then geographically designated as part of a Southern State, the attitude toward the Negro follows the Southern mores in matters of education and segregation, but in many ways (intangible and difficult to define) seems to be influenced by proximity to the Northern territories and to be more tolerant, unprejudiced and lacking in the racial bigotry sometimes found farther south. Perhaps the sign on one of the doors of a municipal public comfort station is indicative. It reads "For Colored Ladies Only."

Leadership in politics, education, and in most of the formal organizations is held by those of superior economic or intellectual achievement. Organizations such as cattle breeding associations are officered and administered by the larger and more prosperous dairy owners specializing along this line. Farm Bureau and Grange leadership follows the same pattern. In the town itself most of the leadership connected with the forthcoming Frederick County Bicentennial observance is held among the membership of the Frederick County Historical Association, which is composed almost wholly of the elite in wealth or intellectual attainment.

Practically the only limitations on activities of any status group are those imposed in the segregation and education of the Negroes. Membership in farm organizations is open to all but members of lower economic and tenure status are more numerous in the Farm Bureau than in the Grange. Several of the town organizations, such as the Historical Society have mentioned and the independent volunteer fire companies, are closely restricted in membership and in the latter particularly ancestry and lineage play a most important part.

4. The Family

The family structure exhibits considerable solidarity. Parents are uniformly anxious for the education of their children up to a certain point although this does not necessarily extend to enthusiasm for higher education. A stronger motivation is that of enabling sons to secure ownership of land and frequently arrangements are made for giving them an opportunity to share in

farm income so that by saving they may start out as owners when they leave the parental homestead. Boys and girls are uniformly expected to share household and farm duties but not to the extent that it will interfere with education. Women do not work in the fields and have done so to a limited extent even when the principal occupation is dairy farming. Dairy farming, however, involves a considerable amount of additional household duties in the care and maintenance of sanitary precautions of the equipment and this automatically curtails the possibility of other types of farm work.

C Schools

Over a long period of time schools of the county have been excellently maintained and the level of expenditure is high and well adapted to the population there are more Negro schools than white. Thus with a 4 percent Negro population in the county the enrollment in the Negro high schools is 90 percent of that for the whites and in the elementary schools 73 percent.

In addition to the public schools with a total enrollment in 1942 of 1,141 there are 2 private colleges and 5 parochial schools with a total enrollment of approximately 350. Hood College, located in Frederick City, has an enrollment limited to women only of approximately 400.

Consolidation has been proceeding for many years and is practically complete. At present out of the total of 47 schools in the county only one is a one-room school and 4 are two-room. The County Superintendent reports that consolidation was effected without much difficulty because it was possible to point out tax savings, although in a few cases where the savings were negligible there was some local opposition. A number of informants voiced their regret at the loss of their neighborhood school and consequent deterioration of the neighborhood as a result of the removal of the focal point of interest. The Frederick High School since the coming of the war has installed with Federal assistance comprehensive facilities for various kinds of vocational training including printing, sheet metal, welding, etc., on reports that without continued Federal assistance it will probably be unable to maintain these activities. School authorities are therefore willing to see whether or not provision will be made for continuing such courses for the benefit of returning service men. Vocational agriculture is taught in all the high schools with particular emphasis, as might be expected, on those phases having to do with livestock. Four-H work is extremely active and participated in by practically all of the eligible students. A comprehensive county-wide farm machinery repair program under the direction of the Board of Education was initiated in 1941 and all units were closed at its scheduled termination in June 1945. Because of numerous commercial canneries and the prevalence of home canning, the community canning program received little emphasis.

Sixteen different denominations are represented in the churches of Frederick County and the total number of church congregations is approximately 120. Leading denominations are the Evangelical and Reformed, Lutheran, Methodist, Episcopal, United Brethren and the Dutch Reformed. The United Brethren have their establishment in the county back 200 years or more and one of the Evangelical churches recently held a service to commemorate its 200th anniversary. This particular church with a large membership has a record of having had only three pastors in the past 135 years.

Generally, the Lutheran and Evangelical churches are limited almost entirely to towns of Frederick and Brunswick. The Episcopal churches include most of the elite in the town of Frederick and are not numerous in other parts of the county. Many of the towns and some occasional rural churches are active in the southern part of the county while the Catholics are limited to the northern part with the exception of churches in the "railroad" town of Brunswick and at Buckeystown.

Rural churches of the other denominations have been long established, are well equipped and well attended. Church buildings are found in the county. Most of the buildings date back to 1820's, 1830's and all have an adjacent cemetery. The place information is available as to the trend in membership of rural churches but it was the opinion of informed residents that there had been little if any decrease over a long period of years. A considerable number of them are serving the Protestant ministers who say have as many as three parishes.

There is no evidence that religion plays a vital part in regulating the lives or activities of its members. Membership and attendance at church has always been the customary pattern, and children are reared in that pattern, but the drive for economic progress and success largely overshadows religion as a motivating force in every day living.

E. Community Organization

Under a long regime of progressive agriculture the county has many agricultural and quasi-agricultural organizations. The first Frederick County Agricultural Association was founded in 1881 and held annual fairs for several years. As early as 1849 it called attention to decreasing fertility and the need for better farm practices. Both the Home Extension and Grange have large memberships, the latter having nine subordinate chapters scattered throughout the county. Women's clubs function in all the schools and there are 21 active Homemakers' clubs and 11 girls' clubs under the jurisdiction of the Home Demonstration Agent. Several of the girls' clubs, however, have recently been temporarily disbanded because of loss of membership caused by girls having gone into town to work. As previously mentioned, the Farmers' Cooperative with close to 2,000 members is an active, influential institution, there are 4 milk

producers' associations with county and State affiliations, & breeders' associations specializing in Hottentots, Germanys and Angoras. Some are active, as well as the various associations. All of these organizations are open without limitations but membership is usually governed by the special interests of the individual. Leadership is generally held by those most active in the particular specialty in which they are interested and follows closely wealth and status considerations.

By and large people in the open country and those in town do not belong to the same organizations except the churches. Some of the organizations are special interest groups concerned with promoting cotton and the honey-cup, and others are rural organizations interested in some specialties. Country in the smaller villages, however, have more rural members and the membership of the farm organizations is almost entirely rural although the meetings are held in the villages.

Activities of all the organizations centered in the war effort are centered in the county seat with branches in the smaller towns. Red Cross, bond drives and salvage campaigns are headed up by committees in the small villages with a considerable proportion of the actual work done by committees drawn from the rural residents. Facilities for returning veterans are organized at the county seat. An Extension Service committee headed by the county agent with members of other agricultural personnel has been set up for consultation with and assistance to veterans returning to agriculture but to date has had little to do. A returned veteran employed jointly by the Veterans Administration and the U. S. Employment Service is employed with the same responsibility of providing assistance in the employment of returning veterans and in cooperation with the local Chamber of Commerce is now completing a survey of employment opportunities in the 68 industrial establishments in the county. When veterans are demobilized in larger numbers community efforts for all types of assistance will be coordinated through a citizens committee now working on the problem.

6. Social Welfare Activities

Public health service is well organized with a county health officer, a nursing department, bacteriologists, and sanitary inspectors.

Laboratories are built and equipped by the county with the major share of salaries paid by the State.

The County Jail and County Dispensary Hospital are maintained in separate buildings on the same grounds with a large plant, the hospital fees being nominal and charged for according to services rendered.

A county welfare board with a directorate of volunteer citizens heads up the welfare work with a well organized staff of approximately 20 people,

the county paying one-fifth of the administrative expenses and State and Federal funds the other four-fifths. This board also administers the social security benefits such as Old Age Assistance, Aid to the Blind, Aid to Dependent Children, and General Public Assistance. There has been a remarkable decrease in the case loads in each of these categories within the last three years. For example, in 1935 there were nearly 10,000 individuals receiving all types of assistance, which in 1940 had declined to 900, and the number of families receiving general assistance was only 30. With increased employment opportunities and increased incomes the number of old age clients and dependent children has declined 50 percent since 1940.

In addition to the public services are two privately endowed children's and old people's homes, each with a small number of occupants. The Maryland State School for the Deaf and the State I.O.O.F. Home for the Aged are also located in Frederick. Since the State Publicity Administration has few clients in the county there is no national cooperative.

Family solidarity is strong and social pressure as well as tradition results in dependent family members being taken care of by parents and relatives, although welfare officials report that with increasing public aid this tendency seems to be weakening.

G. Informal Groupings

Membership and attendance in social and informal association is more widespread in rural areas than in the city itself because of less rigid social stratification and greater group homogeneity. Upper class tenants, part owners, managers and full owners associate without any distinctions being drawn but those in the lower economic and social brackets tend to seek those of similar status. Considerable of the informal visiting is governed by denominational lines and family relationships.

Although limited by the previously mentioned routine of dairy operations two of the chief recreations are hunting and fishing, both of which are easily available in the mountainous areas within this and adjoining counties. There are likewise a considerable number of the better type of roadside taverns which attract the beer drinkers and are heavily patronized by the younger element for dancing over the weekends. Drinking beer has always been traditional with those of German extraction although drunkenness is not frequent and overindulgence is condemned not only by the churches but by society.

Among the chief types of informal groupings are the cattle sales held weekly or semi-weekly in Frederick. Some of these attract from four to six hundred farmers, are held in the fair ground pavilion where the annual county fair has been discontinued for the duration, and last for several hours. Concessions sell food and soft drinks, small groups form for discussion and frequently there is much rivalry in the purchase of a particularly fine dairy animal. At a recent sale 55 animals were disposed of at an average price of \$345 with a few bringing well over \$800 each.

Primarily in the form of meeting in the county is in a formative or the sales in the form of exhibitions for poultry and swine, political and other discussion and dissemination of agricultural information. Numerous open country fairs and auction sales provide the same sort of participation at certain seasons of the year.

B. Leadership

Many of the community organizations are on a local basis and the leaders are those who reside in the community. In all types of community, church, school, or special interest organizations there is a strong tendency for leadership as to sex, wealth and status, with only leadership by profession except in those organizations of particularly feminine appeal. The cultural pattern tends to minimize the status of women except as directors of the household activities and this subordination is apparently tacitly accepted by the women themselves.

I. Administrative Organization of Communities

Frederick County was delineated for the Land Use Planning program in 1939 and the map and description of the community appears in the University of Maryland Extension Station Bulletin No. 437, dated October 1940. Minor variations between the communities have been previously discussed on page 7.

Nearly all studies of community organization have shown a secondary allegiance of county residents to a trade center larger than their own county seat, usually a metropolitan center of considerable population. Frederick County is situated equidistant from Washington and Baltimore, each having approximately the same population, and it is of interest to note that the overwhelming allegiance is to Baltimore. Residents all have visited Washington, are familiar with its sightseeing and recreational possibilities, but seem to regard it chiefly as the seat of national government with which they have little in common, and practically every mention of shopping, marketing, specialized medical services, etc. relates to Baltimore rather than to the Capital City. One possible explanation of this pattern of relationship is the longer established and more stable business enterprises of Baltimore, which coincides with the stability characteristic of Frederick County and its residents.

IV. Patterns and Relationships with the Outside

A. Channels of Contact with Outsiders

With its excellent system of paved highways, all-weather secondary roads, 18,000 automobiles, and several railroads, association of all parts of the county with one another and with the county seat is easy. Frederick town with a population of approximately 20,000 furnishes practically all the goods and services necessary except those which are so highly specialized that they are available only in metropolitan centers. The numerous

historical points of interest, the State parks, summer resorts and recreational areas attract hundreds of tourists to the county for considerable periods as well as those who make casual stops enroute to the Gettysburg Battle Field. Frederick itself is an excellent farmer's town and the old system of Saturday as a trade day still prevails.

While approximately four thousand persons in the county are employed in war industries either in the adjoining county or in Baltimore, these people are chiefly nonfarm residents of the villages or from Frederick itself and practically the only loss from the rural farm population has been to the armed forces. It is reported that the majority of those engaged in nonfarm employment return to their homes either daily or weekly and upon the termination of this employment will again become a part of the permanent local labor force.

With its relatively high density of population and excellent transportation facilities there is no evidence of isolation in the county and to a considerable extent even the rural areas may be regarded as comparatively highly urbanized.

B. Acceptance of New Traits into the Culture

In this relatively urban pattern the infiltration and adoption of urban ideas, fashions, fads and practices is rapid. The numerous outside contacts of the residents coupled with the large amount of tourist visitation provide facilities for the almost instant adoption of urban ideologies. There is little evidence that these are first adopted by those of higher wealth and social status and percolate downward to open country residents; on the contrary they are apparently adopted practically simultaneously in all the village centers.

An innate conservatism, a strong tendency toward thrift and frugality, and the strong motivations toward economic progress and success slow down to a considerable extent the complete adoption of fads and fashions, but new technical methods in the fields of production and processing since they are immediately pertinent to economic progress, are eagerly seized upon and rapidly disseminated.

The chief concern among producers is that of Government controls. "Rugged individualism" is high and attitudes toward the regimentation existing in the pricing and marketing of milk indicate considerable resistance. The chief apprehension relates to the maintenance of milk prices and the possible withdrawal of the present milk subsidy. Informants almost universally condemned the ceiling price and universally advocated letting the law of demand and supply take effect, stating that consumers were now in a position to pay an increased price for their product and should be permitted to do so. Only one informant, however, admitted that this feeling was strong enough to stimulate him to refuse acceptance of the monthly milk check. Despite the antagonism to the milk subsidy, which is debated in conversation

and discussion, nothing in the way of organized protest has been made. Possibly the most significant protest was evidenced by the last Presidential election, when the county, which in the preceding 12 years had gone heavily Democratic, returned a 2 to 1 Republican majority.

There is the customary apprehension about the farm labor shortage but farmers admitted that by the use of longer hours, more family labor, the use of younger boys and older men and a German war prisoners camp of 300, they had "gotten by" better than they had anticipated but would still welcome an increased labor force which would permit the abandonment of most of these practices. There is no evidence of apprehension about the employment of returning veterans and the subject was seldom mentioned voluntarily, although when suggested by the interviewer some admitted that it might constitute a minor problem. Race relations are well stabilized, no tensions or "incidents" occur and nothing to indicate that any problem exists in this connection.

V. Value Systems, Attitudes, Ideas and Ideals

A. Land

The attitude toward the land evidently comprises a mixture of pride in ownership, attachment to the land itself, and appreciation of it solely as an item of production and a tool for economic success. In addition to these there is a universal pride in the productivity of the soil, its high production record over a period of years and the often expressed opinion that it is actually as well as statistically one of the 100 best agricultural counties in the Nation.

Nearly every farmer who has a family including boys tries to arrange for his sons to become owners upon leaving the home farm. Pride in possession and attachment to the soil is evidenced by the meticulous care with which the farm is maintained and the widespread acceptance and observance of every kind of soil conservation and soil building practice. Such observance naturally exists in a higher degree among owners but decreases only slightly as one moves down the tenure scale.

B. Basic Agricultural Techniques

Patterns followed in dairy farming are highly uniform. Sanitary controls by State and county inspectors are applied without discrimination and new technologies are rapidly disseminated through the same process. Special interest groups concerned with certain breeds of dairy cattle hold regular meetings, have technical publications, and practices are therefore uniformly adopted. Among the latter the development of artificial insemination is of chief current interest.

In all types of tenure situations heavy emphasis is placed upon the proper maintenance of herds, the land, the fences, the buildings, the equipment and the whole farm plant, and negligence in any of these is the mark of a poor farmer with a corresponding lowering of status.

C. Tools and Machinery

Careful care and maintenance of machinery is an old and well established pattern and is a natural corollary of the thrift which is the cultural pattern of the German farmer. Machinery is well housed, consistently oiled and recognized as an indispensable adjunct of successful farm operation.

D. Security

The almost universal drive toward economic progress and success is based more on the wish for security than it is for big money. Large profits are not unwelcome but several factors operate against the possibilities of expanding operations as may be done in the Wheat Belt or similar agricultural enterprises. Land is relatively high in price, is closely held, and a large amount of capital is needed for the expansion of dairy herds and the additional equipment needed to process greater production. The average size farm even under the most expert management will maintain only a certain size herd and profits are governed closely by the degree of managerial ability exercised and the Governmentally controlled price. The height of success is attained when an operator has full ownership of his farm with no mortgage debt, is operating a maximum herd with maximum productivity, is educating or has educated his children to the extent that he deems necessary and has an assured income sufficient to provide him with all the necessities of living plus the luxuries which place him in a comparable social status with that of his associates.

E. Worth of Man

Honor and prestige follow closely wealth and status considerations. In the open country these are determined largely by ownership, size of farm, quality of herd, and such economic considerations, but include also some little dependence upon membership in an old and settled family which bears a good reputation. Within the town, wealth is the chief determining factor with the added considerations of degree of professional recognition and lineage. Since practically none of the farm operators of higher tenure status perform much actual manual labor their individual worth is governed by their degree of managerial ability which is reflected by their economic progress.

As a part of the German cultural heritage high value is placed on thrift and savings, particularly when applied to the ownership of land or the expansion of farm facilities. One of the chief measurements of success, reflected in informal discussion between operators, is a high and uniform record of production, although recognition is given to the fact that the size of investment in high grade animals may be the chief factor in such a record.

F. Family life

Family solidarity is high and to a considerable extent the family is an independent social and economic unit. Children are economic assets and are expected to help with farm duties, the wife to be a satisfactory helpmate must adequately direct the household economy. This, however, does not extend to working in the fields except in the lowest of the economic brackets.

G. Education

Attitudes toward education have experienced considerable change, particularly in the past 25 years. Formerly an elementary school education was regarded as sufficient and it was the obligation of the State to provide nothing more than this. Many German parents regarded high school education as "higher education" and sincerely felt that it was not a public responsibility and therefore they should pay additional costs. A high school education is now the minimum essential for both boys and girls, with increasing acceptance of the desirability of college education, which has not yet, however, resulted in bringing the percentage of college students up to that in numerous other Maryland counties. Hood College located in Frederick is strictly a women's institution, is universally well regarded and draws a high proportion of its students from within the county.

H. Religion

The three or four most important denominations extant in the county date their organization back close to 200 years and with their numerous auxiliary organizations provide the greatest means of social participation for the rural residents. Newer and more emotional sects have established themselves within recent years, particularly in the southern part of the county, but have only slightly affected membership in the older denominations. All the important denominations have a rather liberal attitude toward worldly types of recreation, receive uniformly good financial support, are careful not to engage as leaders or sponsors of controversial issues and as institutions are extremely well stabilized. There is no evidence that religion per se is a dominant force in the activities of the people but through custom and tradition church membership has an established place in the value system.

I. Neighborliness

Customary and accepted patterns in neighboring counties prevail with particular emphasis on the type of mutual assistance which has to do with factors of production. Neighborhood groups customarily meet for the filling of silos, butchering, and threshing of wheat and in case of emergencies in taking care of one another's dairy herds. Visiting is governed largely by consanguinity and denominational affiliation throughout the tenure scale.